

Polite Pamphlet No. 132.

AN
ADDRESS
TO
JUNIOUS,

Upon the Subject of his
LETTER
IN THE
PUBLIC ADVERTISER,
December 19, 1769.

—Monstrum nulla Virtute redemptum
A Vitiis. JUV

*Quæ Nota domesticæ Turpitudinis non iniusta
Vitæ tuæ est? Quod PRIVATARUM RERUM De-
decus, non hæret Infamiae? Quæ Libido ab Oculis,
quod Facinus a Manibus unquam tuis, quod Fla-
gitium a toto Corpore absuit?*

L O N D O N:

Sold by J. DODSLEY in Pall-Mall, and S.
CROWDER, in Pater-Noster-Row.

[Price SIX-PENCE.]

ADDRESSES

TO

UNIVERSITY

LECTURE



THE LECTURE
WILL BE GIVEN
ON THE
FRIDAY NEXT
AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON
AT THE
MUSEUM OF
NATURAL HISTORY
AT FIVE O'CLOCK
P.M.

L. D. O. M.

THE LECTURE
WILL BE GIVEN
ON THE
FRIDAY NEXT
AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON
AT THE
MUSEUM OF
NATURAL HISTORY
AT FIVE O'CLOCK
P.M.

A N

ADDRESS to JUNIUS.

S I R,

WHILE you was contented
with the *private* Character
of a *literary Affassin*, and amused
yourself in the truly Christian em-
ployment of stabbing the Reputa-
tion of a Minister, or Great Man,
in the dark; I followed you, thro'
all your Mazes of Sophistry and
Falsehood, with silent Indignation,
and Contempt; perfectly satisfied
that a partial Attack upon a few
B Individuals,

Individuals, however unjust and infamous, could not affect the Welfare of the Community in general. But now that you step forth boldly, as a *public* Murderer, and Incendiary; with a Dagger in one Hand, and a Torch in the other; ready to stab the Heart of your too mild, and indulgent Sovereign, and to inflame the Minds of a deluded People to Madness; it is *My* Duty, it is the Duty of every honest Man, to drag you to public Justice, and to hold you out to the World a Spectacle of eternal Reproach, and Infamy.--- Come forth then, Parricide; and if thy *hitherto unflushed* Forehead can endure the least Innovation of Modesty, learn to blush at that audacious Spirit of Falsehood and Sedition, which is diffused through
the

the whole of thy last Letter: a Letter address'd to the King himself, in such a Stile of insolent Contempt, as an honest Man would have been afraid to utter, and a modest Man is even ashamed to read.

There are some Particulars, which seem to intimate who the Author of the Letters signed JUNIUS is: and if we can properly authenticate this Point, and prove the Identity of the Person; He himself will be a living Comment upon the Text, and teach us how to interpret every Sentence, in its full and genuine Meaning.

It appears then, from many Passages in his last Letter, that JUNIUS is no other than our modern BARABBAS, who for Sedition, Blasphemy, and Treason, was cast into
 B 2 Prison.

Prison. The Proofs, which I shall produce, are it must be confessed presumptive, and circumstantial only; but they carry with them the strongest Conviction.

First, there is an *indirect* Defence of Mr. WILKES: he calls him, “*a Man not very HONOUR-
“ ABLY distinguished in the World;*” and by way of Excuse for those Enormities, which he has committed, tells us, that “*there is hard-
“ ly a Period, at which the most irre-
“ gular Character may not be re-
“ deemed: the MISTAKES of one
“ Sex find a Retreat in Patriotism,
“ those of another in Devotion.*” ---
Tantumne Rem tam negligenter? Is it enough to touch the Character of one of the most profligate Fellows, that ever disgraced Society, in this slight and gentle Manner?

JUNIUS

JUNIUS is known not to be very sparing of his Severities upon other Occasions; and such extraordinary Tenderness *here* implies a *Fellow-feeling*, and amounts to an *indirect* Justification of his Conduct. He does not indeed endow Mr. Wilkes with *any one Virtue*;---he knew he should be laughed at if he did: nor does he absolve him from *any one Vice*;---he was sure the World would not believe him: but he does Mr. WILKES far more essential Service, in skimming over his Character as lightly as possible, and leaving you to collect in general, that Mr. WILKES is a most consummate Patriot, and Enthusiast for Liberty. We have an old Saying, that there is no *general* Rule without an *Exception*; and I will venture to affirm, in
Justice

Justice to this old Proverb, that *universally* as Mr. WILKES's Character is condemned and detested, there is an *Exception* even in this Case; there is ONE PERSON in the World, who does *not* condemn it, nay who is ready to justify it upon all Occasions; and that is---(I would not have my Veracity called in Question)---it is Mr. WILKES HIMSELF. I believe from my very Soul, that *He* is the *only* Man of Sense, and Parts, and Education in the whole Kingdom, who does not look upon his Conduct with Horrour; and I am afraid that he will die as *harden'd and impenitent*, as he has hitherto lived flagitious and abandoned.

Another Argument to prove that Mr. WILKES and JUNIUS is the same identical Person, may be drawn

drawn from those Sneers at Religion, and that public Vindication of Prophaneness and Profligacy, which we meet with in this Letter. A Man must have long accustomed himself to confound all Notions of Right and Wrong, and to look upon the Distinctions of Virtue and Vice, as the little home-bred Prejudices of vulgar Minds, before he would venture to assert, in a public News-Paper, “ *that there are few Excesses, in which an* ENGLISH GENTLEMAN *may not be permitted to indulge.*” I am at a Loss whether more to detest the impudent Profligacy, or laugh at the extreme Absurdity of this Position; which is made Use of to prove that an English Gentleman has a Right to indulge himself in *Political*, as well as *Moral* Licentiousness.

tioufness. That Mr. WILKES has constantly exercis'd this Right, in its largeſt Extent, every one, who obſerves his public and private Conduct, muſt confeſs: for my own Part, I look upon this ſingle Sentence to be an exact Transcript of his Mind, and to contain the very Quinteſſence of his Principles, political and moral.

But the ſtrongeſt Argument, which could poſſibly be produced, to prove that Mr. WILKES is the Author of the Letters ſigned JUNIUS, is that virulent *Abuſe* of the whole *Scotch Nation*, which abounds in every Column of his laſt declamatory Epistle. Whoever will be at the Trouble of examining the *forty-five firſt Numbers* of the *North-Briton*, (an Employment I muſt own not very grateful

ful to an ingenuous Mind) will perceive that they are little else than a false and scandalous *Invective* against the *Scotch*; for no Reason, but because LORD BUTE happened to be *born there*. Now to say nothing of the extreme Baseness, Injustice, and Inhumanity of vilifying a *whole Nation*, out of personal Rancour to one *particular Man*; considered in a political Light, is it not an Excess of Folly and Wickedness? Is the quick-sighted and patriotic JUNIUS such a *Stranger* to the Interests of his Country, as not to see the Advantages which England reaps from an Union with Scotland? Or is he such a *Traitor* to the Interests of his Country, as to wish to sacrifice these national Advantages to his own private Ambition and Revenge?

C

venge? One of these *must* be the Case, or he could never, in the calm Moments of Study and Reflection, deliberately throw out the falsest and most injurious Calumnies against the Scotch; calculated to render *them* odious to *Us*, and *us* suspected by *Them*. Observe the Virulence of his Language, and you will see that there is no other Alternative; he must either be such a *Fool*, as not to see how immediately and intimately the Interests of the two Nations are connected; or such a *Villain* and a *Traitor*, as to seek to dissolve this Connection, for his own private and iniquitous Purposes.

Having thus, I hope, sufficiently proved the Identity of JUNIUS's Person, let us proceed to consider the several Particulars in his Letter,
which

which may be comprized (as far as Declamation and Invective are capable of being reduced to Order) under the following Heads: Insolence to the King; an Insult on the Understanding of the Public, in calling the Clamours of a few factious and desperate Persons, THE VOICE OF THE NATION; and an open and daring Attack on the Constitution of his Country.

There are some Subjects of so delicate and sacred a Nature, that it requires the Hand of the most consummate Master to touch them properly: to exaggerate the smallest Line or Feature, would be an Insult; to soften them, might be misconstrued into Meanness and Selfishness of Spirit. For this Reason I shall say little, in my own Person, upon the first of these

Topics, as I equally detest the Character of a Flatterer on one Hand, and of a common Libeller, like JUNIUS, on the other: let it be sufficient to refute the Calumnies, which with unparalleled Effrontery he has disgorged in the Face of the Public. He taxes the King with “ *Errors in his Education, and pernicious Lessons received in his Youth.*” What Proofs can he produce of so daring an Accusation? Tell me, Wretch, was it a Mark of a faulty Education, to give, at his first coming to the Throne, every Branch that remained of his Royal Revenue to the Public, for an Income, without Power, and far short of the other in Point of Value? Was it a Mark of a faulty Education, to encrease the Salary of the Judges, and make
 them

them independent of the Crown? To endeavour to reconcile contending Factions, and to allow of no Proscription of any Sect or Party? Would JUNIUS wish that his present Majesty had adopted the narrow Prejudices, which disgraced the last Reign, and will be felt, in their ruinous Consequences, by our latest Posterity? I am almost ashamed to overthrow such impotent Slanders, which are below the Notice of a mere Babe in Politics; and could not submit to the Drudgery of doing it, if I was not recompenced by an honest Pleasure, in reciting these *truly patriotic* Measures of his present Majesty, which are his best and noblest Panegyric.

There are other Passages in JUNIUS's Letter, of a more serious
and

and alarming Nature, which are at once a glaring Proof of the Rancour and Profligacy of the Writer's Heart, and of the Weakness and Remissness of Government, in suffering such traitorous Libellers to continue a Moment unpunished. He tells us impudently, that his Majesty *"has never yet for a single Moment consulted his own Under-standing;"* (who is this JUNIUS, that pretends to dive into the very Thoughts of the Heart?) and accuses him *"of taking a Share in the Malignity of other Persons Passions:"* he says, *"that he has not even the Appearance of being supported, except by Jacobites, Nonjurors, Roman Catholics, and Tories."* What unabashed, unbridled Insolence is this, to rank, I do not say the Administration only,

only, but all the King's private and personal Friends, under these Classes? For my own Part, I sincerely hope and *believe*, that there are not at this Time *ten Nonjurors* in the whole Kingdom, nor *two real Jacobites*: the Roman Catholics experience no superior Indulgences *now*, beyond what they *have done formerly*, and it would be Idiotism to suppose them more nearly attached to the present King's Person and Government, than they were to his Predecessor's: as to the Tories, they and the Whigs have changed Sides so often within a few Years last past, that it is next to impossible to divine what the Term means; and I will venture to assert that it is never made Use of now-a-days, except by such *Word-Catchers* as JUNIUS;
 who,

who, having no real Ground of Complaint, delude and intoxicate an unthinking Multitude with obsolete Names, and furd, unmeaning Sounds. It is Matter of Indignation to observe the Persons who at present impudently call themselves *Whigs*, endeavouring to exalt the Prerogative of the Crown in the most absolute and essential Manner; by petitioning the King to *dissolve the Parliament*, and annihilate the Power of the House of Commons, which is the only true, great, and constitutional Bulwark of our Liberties. Their Behaviour upon this Occasion recalls to my Mind the following Passage of *Tacitus*: *Speciosi Verbis, Re inanes aut subdoli; quantoque majore Libertatis Imagine teguntur, tanto erupturi ad infensus Servitium.*

Whoever

Whoever reflects coolly (it requires indeed the Apathy of a Stoic to do it) on the Falsehood, Scurrility, and Audaciousness of this Attack upon our good and virtuous Sovereign, will find Reason to lament the late *frequent Changes in Administration*; as it is from this unhappy Versatility of Affairs, that Faction has derived all its Vigour and Insolence, and Government its Weakness and Timidity. It will be the greatest, perhaps sole Reflection upon the Reign of his present M-----, (and it will hardly be believed, when recorded in the Annals of future Ages) that there should live such an abandoned Miscreant as JUNIUS, and that he should insult, vilify, nay, INTIMIDATE the sacred Person of the King himself, *with Impunity*

D of

of Guilt. May not we cry out, as Cicero did upon a like Occasion, *Immortal Gods, what Air do we breathe? Of what State are we Members? In what City do we live,* when a Wretch, so monstrously, so exquisitely profligate, shall be suffered to talk to the King, in a Strain that would but ill become the Chief of a Rebel Army? “*We*” *should long since, says he, have* “*adopted a Stile of Remonstrance,*” “*very distant from the Humility of*” “*Complaint; and again, the Prince,*” “*who plumes himself upon the Se-*” “*curity of his Title to the Crown,*” “*should remember, that as it was*” “*acquired by one Revolution, it may*” “*be lost by another.*” Is this proper, is it decent Language to a King? Methinks the most profligate Fellow of the most desperate Faction
that

that ever disturbed the Peace of Society, hangs down his Head, and blushes at it: nay, the EARL OF SH-----NE himself, for the *first* Time in his Life, *thinks* he feels some Compunctions of Shame; and is afraid that such Indecency and Violence as this, may hurt the Cause it was intended to promote.

It is a most disagreeable and painful Task, for a modest Man and a good Subject, to *repeat* only those infamous Calumnies, which JUNIUS has forged against the King: I shall therefore take Leave of this unpleasing Subject, (having said as little upon it as my Indignation would permit) and shew that his Letter is not a more scandalous Attack upon the Honour of our Sovereign, than it is a flagrant Insult upon the Understanding of the

People. JUNIUS never chuses to do Things by Halves; and in the present Case he wickedly verifies the Prophecy of an inspired Writer, that “it shall be *with the People* as “with the *Prince*.” Every Appearance of Argument that he makes Use of, is built upon Falsehood: he supposes the Clamours of a few factious, turbulent, and ambitious Persons, to be the united Voice of the People; and upon this Supposition, which is baseless and visionary, as the Dreams of a Madman, he builds all his Reasoning. With an Air of Authority and Consequence, which proves nothing but the *Importance* of the Man to *Himself*, he talks to the King in the plural Number: “WE “are far from thinking,---and, had “it been possible for Us,---and, WE “are

“*are still inclined.*”---In the Name of Wonder, who are WE? Every one knows who the ostensible Persons are that pester the Throne with imaginary Grievances: they are *John Horne, Sir Joseph Mazw-
bey, Sir Robert Bernard, Sir Francis Delaval*, and half a Dozen more of the same Kidney. Do you call these few Individuals THE PEOPLE, AND THE KING’S SUBJECTS? These Men, who are known to have *so little Sense of their own*, have They the *Sense* of the *whole Nation*? For Shame, JUNIUS; you would plunge us into worse than *Bæotian Dullness*, and turn the Nation into a Proverb for Stupidity!----Let us hear it again; *John Horne, Sir Joseph Mazw-
bey, Sir Robert Bernard,* and *Sir Francis Delaval*, are possessed of the Sense of the whole Nation!

Nation! Why, JUNIUS, if you was to say this seriously to the KNIGHT OF THE BATH---filly and consequential as he is, he would laugh in your Face; or if he thought you was laughing at Him, (and he has been *so much laughed at*, that he is rather touchy and suspicious) he would very probably cane you for your Wagery. Sure such a Set of Patriots were never before raked together; Men whom Nature seems to have made in Sport, with Persons large, and *at full Length*, but Understandings *in Miniature!* What a Libel is it upon the good People of England, to suppose that these Men represent the Body of the Nation? Yet take away this Supposition, and you destroy the very Key-Stone of JUNIUS's Reasoning; for the several Arguments

Arguments which he produces to *intimidate the King*, are built, as I said before, upon this Foundation; that the present Clamours against his Government are not stirred up by a few pestilent Fellows, the Movers of Sedition, but are the spontaneous "*Complaints and Reproaches of the whole Nation, who declare they are grossly injured by their Representatives.*" Was this truly the Case, what Occasion was there to employ the basest, most insidious, and violent Measures, in distant Parts of the Kingdom, (and such *have* been employed) to inveigle or compel the People to petition? And why, in Places nearer the Metropolis, have the Trumpeters of Sedition been obliged to ride Post from County to County, and from Borough to Borough,

Borough, to stir up his Majesty's too contented and peaceful Subjects? Have we not seen the *Farce of petitioning* acted by the *same Set of Strollers*, in different Counties; and is it not well known that they are *Wilkes's Company of Comedians*? What are the several Petitions from Middlesex, Westminster, Surry, and Essex, but the *same Petition* of John Horne, Sir Joseph Mawbey, and others, drawn up in different Words? I will not condescend to mention the Petitions fomented by the Proprietors of VENAL BOROUGHs, such as OLD SARUM; as they are evidently promoted for no other End, than that these *conscientious Gentlemen* may have the Comfort of *selling them* over again: And what *modern Patriot* would not *run the Hazard* of

of embroiling the Peace of his Country, when *he was sure* of gaining *seven thousand Pounds* by the Bargain? After all, have the several Petitions, which have been presented to the Throne, been signed by *one hundredth Part* of the respectable Freeholders in this Kingdom? The Truth is, that the sensible and moderate, of all Parties, even of those who disapprove of Mr. Luttrell's Admission into the House of Commons as Member for Middlesex, are *averse to petitioning* for a Dissolution of Parliament, for plain and cogent Reasons: they look upon it as a dangerous, doubtful, and desperate Remedy, for a Disease which will allow of more gentle, certain, and lenient Methods of Cure; it is like cutting off the Arm, because a

E

Finger

Finger is wounded: they would not, by expressing their public Disapprobation, expose the House of Commons to the Contempt or Resentment of the People: they would not throw the Nation into the Ferment of a new Election, at such a Crisis as this, when our Minds are warped with Passions and Prejudices, and glowing with the Zeal of Party-Spirit, which of all others is the most blind, headlong, and indiscriminating: above all, they would not advise the King to the most dangerous and odious Exertion of his Prerogative, as they cannot hold the absurd and nonsensical Language, which is to be met with in **one* of the Petitions, that his Majesty has a Power of dissolving Parliaments *only* with the People's

* See the YORKSHIRE PETITION.

People's Consent: they are aware that it is supplying some future Minister with a most pernicious *Precedent*, by which he may easily get rid of a Parliament, who are not supple enough, and subservient to his Purposes. I call upon JUNIUS to tell me, whether there is a single Instance in History, of the Minds of the People having been quieted by the King's dissolving the Parliament? Numerous are the Examples to the contrary; and I am persuaded, should his present Majesty adopt such a Measure, JUNIUS, or his *Fellow-Labourers in Sedition*, would be the first to cry out, and expatiate upon the Justice of Complaint and the Necessity of Remonstrance, on so critical and alarming an Occasion.

Enough has been said to shew the Impudence and Falsehood of JUNIUS, in asserting that it is the *People of England*, who are actually contending for their Rights; when it is plain to Demonstration, that all the Struggle and Noise which is made, is nothing but the agonizing Shrieks and Convulsions of an expiring Faction.

The last Part of the Charge, which I am to make good against him, is of so black and heinous a Nature, that it is almost impossible to think of it without Horror: he attempts to stir up the People to Rebellion, and to plunge his Country into the Calamities of a CIVIL WAR. Observe how he aims the Dagger at the very Vitals of the Constitution! “ *Should the English People no longer confine their*

“ *their Resentment to a submissive*
 “ *Representation of their Wrongs;*
 “ *but, following the GLORIOUS Ex-*
 “ *ample of their Ancestors, appeal---*
 “ *not to the Creature of the State,*
 (for so he insolently calls the King)
 “ *but to That high Being, who gave*
 “ *them the Rights of Humanity; on*
 “ *whom---says he, (as if the fatal*
 Struggle were already begun) *would*
 “ *your Majesty rely for Assistance?”*
 He then makes our good King the
 veryest Abject and Outcast, that
 ever implored the cold Hand of
 Charity to relieve him: should he
 go to Ireland----they would reject
 him with Indignation: should he
 fly to America----they would strip
 him of the Pomp and Power of
 Royalty, “ for they equally detest
 “ the Pageantry of a King, and
 “ the supercilious Hypocrisy of a
 “ Bishop:

“ Bishop:” his English Subjects are
 “ *already alienated in their Affec-*
 “ *tions, and are Parties against*
 “ *him:*” and as to the Scotch, they
 would “ *receive him with Bows,*
 “ *and Smiles, and Falsehood---*”
 would cringe, fawn, flatter, and
 betray.

If this be not the falsest and
 blackest Aspersions of the several
 Parts of his Majesty's Dominions,
 as well as the rankest and most
 audacious Treason against the Per-
 son of the King, I must confess
 myself an utter Stranger to the
 Meaning of Words. The only
 Remark I shall make upon it is,
 that nothing can subject his Majesty
 (whose public and private Virtues
 have endeared him to all the best,
 the wisest, the bravest of his Sub-
 jects) to the least Danger of being
 reduced

reduced to so weak and deplorable a Situation, but a Want of Firmness and Resolution in his Government. Let him support his Ministers with Spirit and Constancy, and the Clamours of a disappointed Faction will be as idle and insignificant as the Barking of Village Curs at the Moon: let the Laws be executed against JUNIUS, and other wicked, needy, desperate Villains will not hope to insult them with Impunity. It is with honest Indignation that the People behold his last nefarious Attempt to plunge his Country into all the Horrors of a civil War; and call out to have the Miscreant punished. Yes, JUNIUS, they see the Falshood and Baseness of your Writings, which are calculated solely to deceive and inflame. They
call

call upon you to answer (if to your other Vices you add the Hypocrisy of pretending that your Designs are honourable) why such a manifest Distortion of *some* Facts, and infamous Forgery of *others*? Why expatiate upon Grievances that do not exist, and spread Alarms that are groundless and imaginary? Why do you sow Jealousies and Divisions in the Army, and try to render *one* Part obnoxious to the King, and the *other* detested by the People? Is it, that at the *Moment of Difficulty and Danger*, which you so eagerly expect, they may be obliged to stand aloof, while you and your Brother Parricides, with a Rage unnatural as that of Nero's, rip up the Bowels of your Mother Country? It is well, JUNIUS, that your
Views

Views are so open, though you still affect to keep your Person a Secret: Treason is never dangerous, except when it is concealed under the Guise of Patriotism, and as our excellent Poet remarks, is *hid in Smiles and Affability*: When it appears in its proper Shape, there is something in it so hideous, and infernal, that it is universally shunned and detested. Happily for your Country, you have plucked off the Mask; and I am persuaded, when you are dragg'd forth to Punishment, not a Person in the Kingdom will be found so profligate as to pity you. Do not flatter yourself that you shall escape with Impunity:---I should as soon expect (and it would be the natural Consequence of such *cruel* Lenity) to hear you proclaimed at

F Charing-

Charing-Cross LORD PROTECTOR.
 No: in Crimes of so black a Na-
 ture as your's, which threaten the
 immediate Ruin of the State, it is
 a known and received Maxim, that
 they *hurt* the INNOCENT, who
spare the GUILTY.

F I N I S

